

In this excerpt, Senator Hallauer discusses the 1963 coalition, and its effect on redistricting. Read the entire text of [Wilbur G. Hallauer: An Oral History on the Oral History Program's Web site](#).

Thomas Kerr: Let's move along to the 1963 legislative session. By then, the U.S. Supreme Court had mandated redistricting and so the legislature had no choice but to meet the problem head on. What do you remember about the political lay of the land at that time?

Senator Hallauer: I'm having a hard time getting back to 1963.

Mr. Kerr: Well, that was the year that John O'Brien was ousted as Speaker by the coalition of "new breed" Republicans and dissident Democrats from Eastern Washington.

Sen. Hallauer: That would be William Day and his group of private power Democrats.

Mr. Kerr: It was also the year in which Bob Greive was re-elected as the Senate majority leader, but very narrowly. In fact, he was almost defeated.



Wilbur Hallauer

Sen. Hallauer: That effort to defeat Greive began 1959. I was involved in it, but each time he beat us by one vote.

Mr. Kerr: Could you tell me about that?

Sen. Hallauer: Well, let's see. Pat Sutherland was our candidate for majority leader in 1959 and, of course, Pat was a state senator from the Seattle area. The way Greive campaigned for the position was to collect money from his lobbyist support group and then spread that campaign cash around to people who he figured would support him. And then there were those of us, like myself, who raised our own campaign money and didn't want to be dependant on somebody on a *quid pro quo* basis. With Greive, it amounted to a situation where a person might say, in effect, "Okay, you hand me the cash and I'll give you my vote." In 1959 I think he defeated us seventeen to sixteen. We failed again in '61 and '63. Gissberg undertook to do it in '63. We thought we had it all wrapped because I had gone out and raised money, about \$25,000 and handed it out equally to all of the senatorial candidates. It only amounted to about \$1,000 a piece. It was kind of interesting because at our caucus I told people that I had a document that showed where all the

money came from, and that if any of them wanted to look it over, I'd be available to show it to them after the caucus adjourned. I also told them I would not give them a copy, nor would I allow anyone to make a copy. You know, when we broke up there was not a single person who came to look at it.

Mr. Kerr: Why didn't you want them to make any copies of the list?

Sen. Hallauer: They could look at the list, but I didn't want it to get in the newspapers or anything. But I still thought they should have the opportunity to know where the money came from.

Mr. Kerr: Well, what did that tell you about their state of mind?

Sen. Hallauer: I leave that one to you to judge! I thought a few of them would come, but none did. Greive, of course, did the same thing. He raised money and he told people where the money came from. But he only gave the money to the people who supported him. I gave it to everybody, friend and enemy. I figured that if we were all Democrats, that was the way we had to do it.

Mr. Kerr: I suppose that when it comes to money, some people would just as soon not know too much. It's like the old suggestion that there are two things that people may be better off not knowing how they're made: laws and sausages.

Sen. Hallauer: Well, I know how sausages are made. I'm a farm boy!

Mr. Kerr: Well, getting back to the dynamics of the redistricting effort in that 1963 Legislature, was Slade Gorton providing the leadership on the Republican side?

Sen. Hallauer: Oh yes. I thought he did a marvelous job. And, of course, he cooperated with McCormack and me and some of the other Democrats who weren't part of the group led by Greive. Since we were under the gun from the Federal courts to get on with the business of redistricting, he and a number of us were looking at what the alternatives were.

Mr. Kerr: Mike McCormack was an important actor in this issue. Can you tell me about his involvement?

Sen. Hallauer: Mike's primary concern was his own legislative district. He had never been a supporter of Greive, and Greive was trying to figure out ways to undo him. So when Mike had the alternative of cutting a deal with Slade, in terms of protecting his district, he was willing to do it. And of course the whole thing finally got ironed out in the wash.

Mr. Kerr: At that time, Slade Gorton was a member of the House. Did he have someone in the Senate who might be attempting to advance his redistricting plan?

Sen. Hallauer: Well, Mike would go directly over to the House and deal with Slade. And there were other people in the Senate who knew what the plan was. But Slade was the driving force in the House, just as Greive was in the Senate. House members would regularly come over to see Greive. They had a war room downstairs and there were 17,000 maps, all in conflict. Greive ran an outfit like that over on the Senate side, and Gorton had one over on the House side. I had attended both war rooms, but I can't tell you that I was particularly affected by it, or anything.

Mr. Kerr: The 1963 legislative session produced a deadlock on the redistricting problem and there was even some discussion of calling a special session to deal with it, although that never happened. Can you recall what efforts were made and by whom to break up the log-jam?

Sen. Hallauer: I know that there were several different redistricting plans put before the Senate and they were voted down. The court finally relented and allowed more time.